

# SCOTLAND'S STORY

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that 'sold down  
the river' feeling**

**The maverick and  
his vital memoirs**

**Rising hopes and a  
battle they put  
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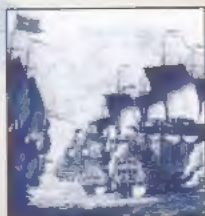
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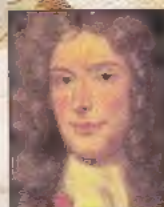
**1708**

France sponsors Jacobite Invasion of 'Britain'.



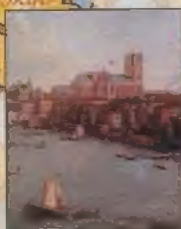
**1712**

Lockhart of Carnwath urges reversal of the Union.



**1713**

Disillusioned Scots attempt to repeal Act of Union in London.



**1714**

Hanoverian George I succeeds the 'British' throne upon the death of Anne.



**1715**

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**1716**

Jacobite suppression after the failure of the '15.



**1715**

November: Jacobite Rising loses the initiative at the Battle of Sheriffmuir.



**1720**

Despite the Union's ill effects, Glasgow's tobacco trade continues to grow.



**1725**

Fragile Scottish economy undermined by attempted enforcement of the Malt Tax.



**In Part 32:**  
Wade and his roads

PART OF  
IRELAND

North  
Channel

PART  
ENGLA

NORTH  
SEA

Orkney

Thurso

Wick

Strathclyde

Inverness

River Spey

Banff

River Don

Aberdeen

River Dee

Stonehaven

Firth of Forth

Stirling

Glasgow

Ayr

Isle of Arran

N. Vist

S. Vist

Little Minch

Mull

Isle of Mull







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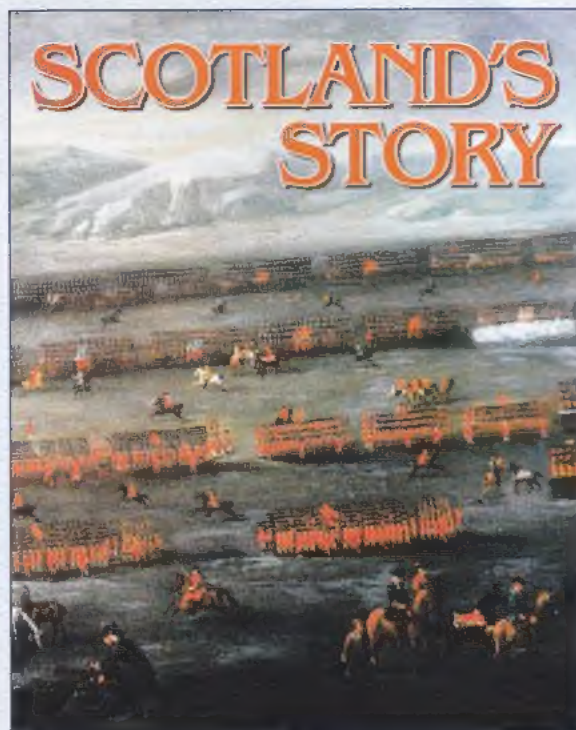
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**COVER:** The Battle of Sheriffmuir, which was technically a 'draw' but represented a strategic defeat for the rising Jacobites who lost the initiative through weak leadership.

# Resisting the new regime

Legally, no one should have been calling themselves a Scot after 1707. Instead, those living north of the Tweed should have henceforth referred to themselves as 'North-Britons'. But as far as ordinary Scots living in the decades after Union were concerned, they were not about to give up a national identity their forebears had fought for so many centuries to preserve.

This feeling was heightened by the new 'British' government's repeated violations of the terms of the Union agreement. It became clear that London far preferred the idea of England's assimilation of, to unification with, Scotland. The Scots' resulting indignation translated into mob violence and organised rioting on several occasions during the 1720s and 30s.

Maintaining order and authority over such a bitterly resentful populace was a tricky job. It required the liberal use of patronage, bribery and the bestowing of favours – a policy that governments have not been known to shy away from since.

During wartime, no amount of committed adherence to a cause can make up for the deficiencies of inadequate

planning and poor leadership. A prime case in point is the perplexing failure of Jacobites to capitalise on widespread popular revulsion to the post-Union regime during two large-scale military campaigns, in 1708 and 1715. In 1708, things looked particularly good for the Jacobite cause. There was overwhelming fury among all sections of Scottish society at the passing of the Union, and considerable naval backing from Louis XIV's France, while the 'British' Royal Navy was strategically overstretched.

But when James Stewart caught the measles – a potential killer at the time – the operation turned into a disaster. So too with the 1715 campaign which, despite heavy support, failed largely because of the inept leadership of the Earl of Mar.

Glasgow originated in the 6th century as a holy place, and since then religion has always been a very important part of the city's history. It was created a burgh in 1175, so beginning its long development into the busy metropolis we know today...



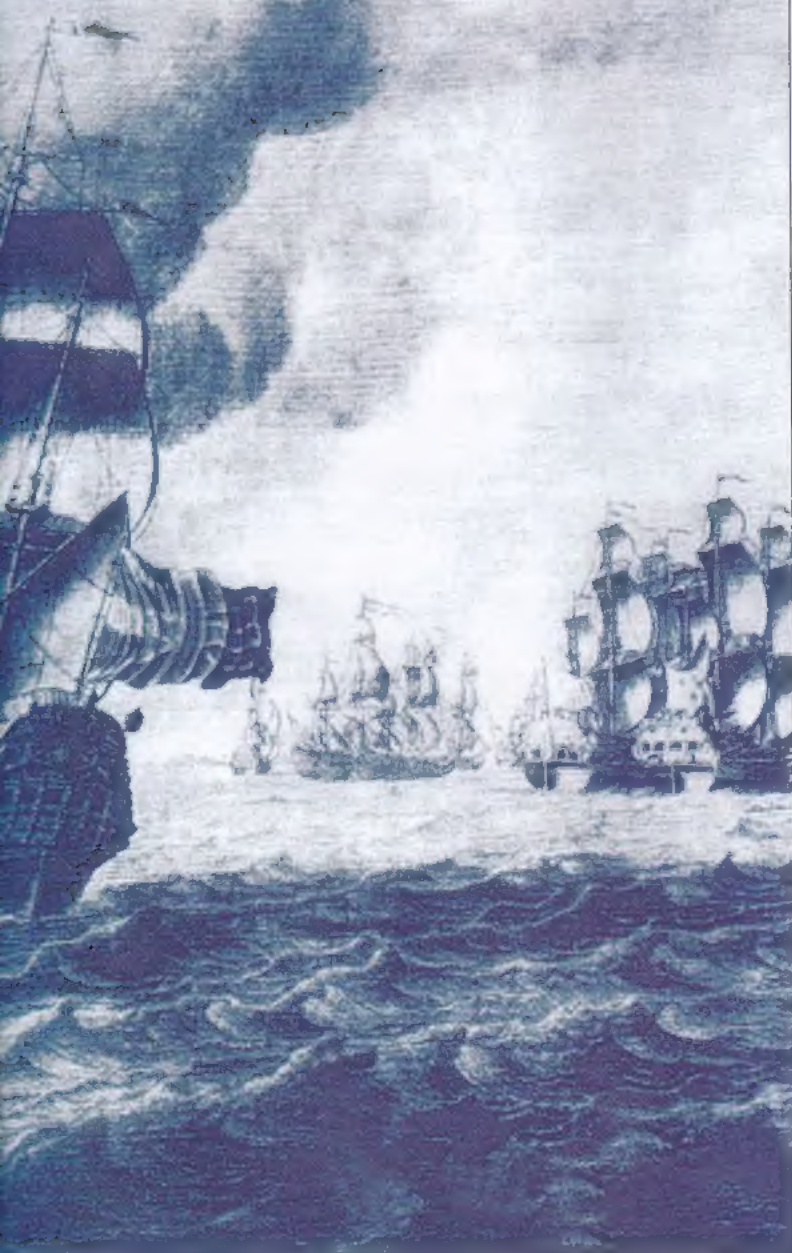
1708 'INVASION'



# The failure of the



■ The one that did not get away: As French navy commander Comte de Forbin fled north, he left his slowest ship, *Le Salisbury*, to the mercy of the pursuing Royal Navy.



Louis XIV thought that if he sailed into common cause with anti-Union Scots while delivering the Old Pretender to them, he would strike a blow against England. But he was too half-hearted

**O**n May 1, 1707 – “a day never to be forgot by Scotland” – the Act of Union came into force.

Legally, Scotland ceased to exist. Henceforward it was to be simply ‘North Britain’.

But for many Scots the argument was not over because (as they saw it) a crew of hiring turncoats in the Scottish Parliament had sold the nation into bondage. Scotland’s Parliament had no right, they argued, to vote away the nation’s independence. It had not consulted the Scottish people, and troops had been used by the government to suppress popular protests against the Union. And since peaceful protest had been disallowed, and constitutional opposition overwhelmed by English gold, many Scots also believed they had every right to oppose the Union by force.

Who were these Scots opponents of the new state of ‘Great Britain’? Surprisingly, given their deeply-felt religious antagonism towards each other, an alliance of Episcopalians and extreme Presbyterians lay at the heart of the coalition opposed to the Union. Many Episcopalians (who were about one-third of the population in 1707) saw union with England cutting off all hope of a Stuart restoration re-establishing the Episcopalian ascendancy in Scotland.

And many extreme Presbyterians opposed the Union because it implicitly compromised the purity of the Presbyterian Kirk by associating it with the Episcopal Church of England. Both groups, though, came together in the belief that the Union was a betrayal of their Scottish heritage and should be opposed with all the force they could muster.

This broad coalition of angry Scots thus combined rich and poor, Highlanders and Lowlanders,

Episcopalians, Presbyterians and even the tiny Roman Catholic minority, and posed an enormous potential threat to the new British state. Not from the point of view of their being able to beat the British army on their own, but because a major Scottish rebellion could critically disrupt the British war against France.

Britain was a member of the ‘Grand Alliance’ that had been relentlessly waging war against France since 1702, and by 1707 the French military was in serious trouble. The allies had defeated King Louis XIV’s armies in battle after battle and had begun to fight their way through France’s northern defences. Fortress after fortress had fallen and the final eruption of the vengeful Allied army into the undefended lands beyond looked imminent. Louis XIV knew when he was beaten, and tried to negotiate peace, but with total victory apparently within their grasp, his enemies were in no mood to compromise. Thus, by the time of the Union, Louis was looking for any possible way to throw the Grand Alliance off balance and persuade them to accept his peace offers.

Stirring up a rebellion in Britain was the obvious way to achieve this. England was the financial mainstay of the Grand Alliance, and also contributed a disproportionate number of ships and men. If Louis could set off a serious uprising in Scotland, the British government would have to recall its troops from Europe to defeat the rebels, and if the Scots could hold out for a while, the British government might even be forced to end the war on terms favourable to France. So Louis and his ministers began to explore the possibility of fomenting a national uprising in Scotland. They had, ▶

# French connection





■ He who hesitated... King Louis XIV waded in with too little too late.

► moreover, one very useful card to play in a Scottish context. When King James VII died in exile in France in 1701, he entrusted the care of his 13-year-old son to his benefactor, Louis XIV. The Old Pretender, as James Francis Edward Stuart was generally known in the British Isles, had accordingly grown up a loyal ally of France, who, despite his Roman Catholicism, commanded considerable support in Scotland's Episcopalian community.

In addition, the Jacobite government in exile in France had publicly opposed the Union and pledged to overturn it when the Old Pretender was restored to the throne.

Two questions remained for the French. What would it take to get the Scottish Jacobites to rise? And would the rising be big enough to paralyse the British war effort in Europe? To answer these questions, Colonel Nathaniel Hooke, a Jacobite Irish exile, secretly visited Scotland in the summer of 1707. Hooke had been in Scotland before, in 1705, so this second visit was to check that the Scots would still rebel if the

French supported them. And Hooke indeed found more enthusiasm than ever for an uprising among the Episcopals, and received pledges of support from the extreme fringes of the Presbyterian community.

The Scots conspirators who discussed the proposed rising with him were, though, virtually unanimous on one point: they would not rise until they saw the Old Pretender land at the head of a French army. They refused to take on England alone.

Hooke returned to France and made a positive report, but Louis and his ministers still hesitated. What was troubling them, and particularly Louis's minister for the navy, the Comte de Pontchartrain, was that even if the landing and the uprising were successful, the French navy would have to maintain the invasion force in Scotland in the teeth of all the opposition the 'British' Royal

Navy could muster. In addition, any troops sent to Scotland were as good as lost. Even if they and the rebel Scots held out in Scotland, the troops would be used up in the fighting and could not easily be supplied, withdrawn or reinforced.

What finally moved Louis to order the invasion were pleas of his wife, Madame de Maintenon, egged on by the Jacobite government in exile. Even so, he committed the minimum possible resources to make it viable.

Thus the invasion force was only 4,500 strong and the ships carrying it were not the regular French navy, but privateers from Dunkirk.

Nevertheless, by the end of February, 1708, the invasion was ready to depart. The Old Pretender arrived, the troops embarked, and the ships were ready to sail. The Royal Navy was caught by surprise, so there were not enough English ships off Dunkirk seriously to interfere with the expedition. All looked well. Then disaster struck.

The Old Pretender came down with measles, a potentially fatal disease in 18th-century Europe. It took him two weeks to recover, during which time the Royal Navy built up a formidable squadron of ships off Dunkirk commanded by Sir George Byng, and the morale of the French commander, the Comte de Forbin, plummeted.

Forbin begged to be relieved of command, but Louis ordered him to sail, and on March 8 the little French fleet slipped past Byng's squadron. Byng was soon in hot pursuit, but Forbin arrived off Scotland a day in advance of him. Meanwhile, the anti-Unionist conspirators polished their weapons and prepared to rise when the French landed. There were fewer than 2,500 government troops in Scotland, and many were Scots whose loyalty was doubtful – so prospects of success seemed good.

But the French never landed. Despite orders from Louis that he should put the troops ashore even if he had to beach his ships, Forbin

abandoned any attempt to land along the Firth of Forth as soon as Byng's pursuing squadron hove in sight.

Instead, he fled north, leaving his slowest ship, Le Salisbury, to be captured when it lagged behind. At Peterhead, Forbin again came close to shore and signalled Slains Castle, seat of the Earl Marischal, but received no reply. The Scots conspirators had provided the French fleet with a pilot and liaison officers, but Forbin disregarded their assurances of a positive reception.

Instead, he ordered his fleet to abandon the expedition and escape north. The Old Pretender begged to be landed on the coast alone, but Forbin refused.

Meanwhile, Scotland waited in anticipation for news of the French landing. In such a climate of excitement rumours that the landing had already occurred swept the country, and believing this to be the case, in Stirlingshire three Jacobite gentlemen – James Stirling of Keir, Archibald Seaton of Touch and Archibald Stirling of Carden – saddled their horses, raised their tenants and marched on Edinburgh.

Learning they were mistaken, however, they turned back and went home, though not quickly enough to avoid arrest and trial for rebellion.

A relieved British government responded to the fizzling-out of the crisis by sweeping up large numbers of Scots noblemen and gentry whom they suspected (often correctly) of involvement in the conspiracy, but they could prove nothing in law without access to French records; so, bar a few transported to London and held in detention there for a while, most were soon released.

Back in France, the Old Pretender and the troops assigned to the invasion attempt were marched off to Flanders to join the main French army there in time to participate in its thrashing by the Allied army at the battle of Oudenarde. Forbin was quietly retired. The conspirators' only death was the ailing English exile Lord Griffin, captured aboard Le Salisbury, who died peacefully in the Tower of London in 1710.

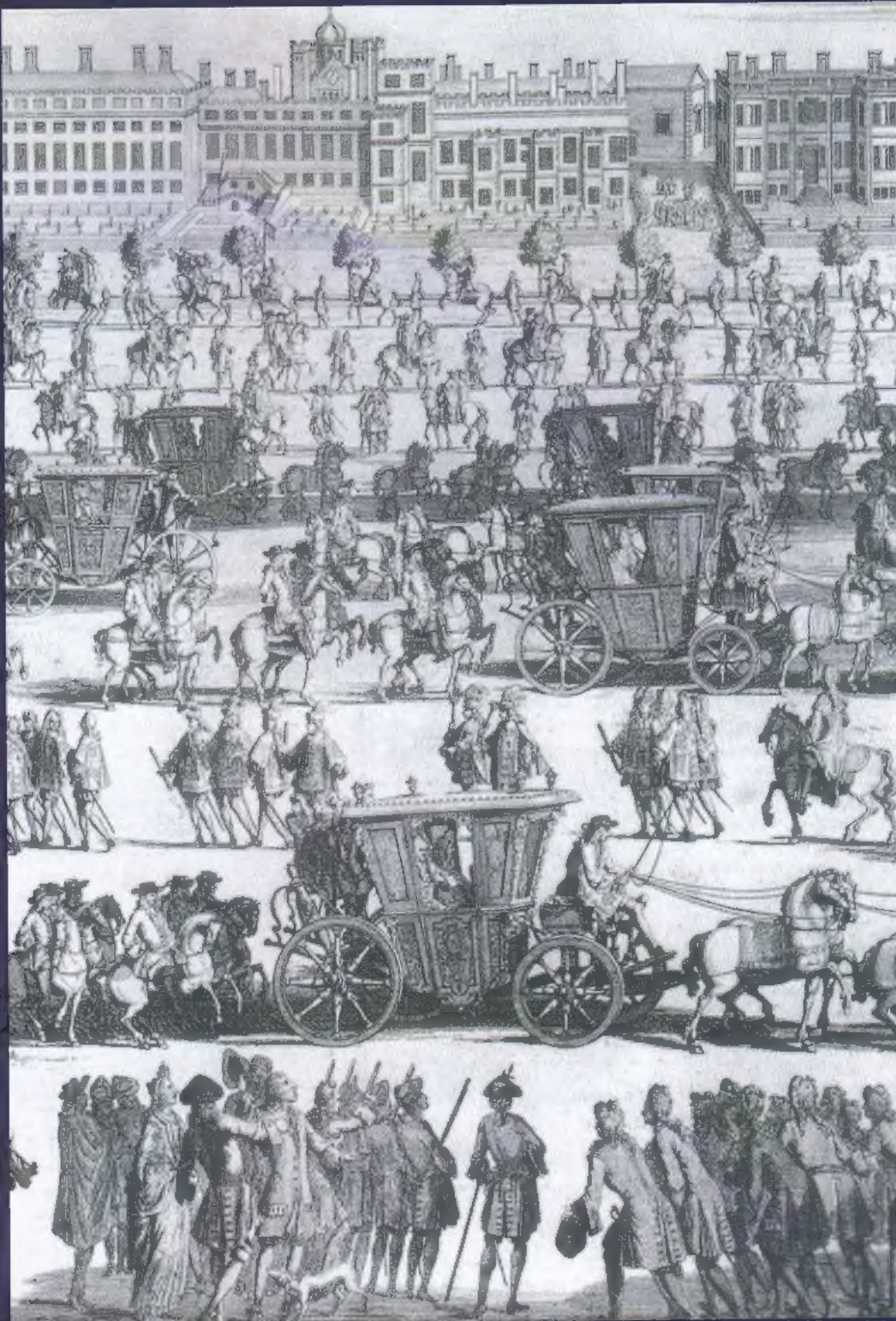
But the failure of the conspiracy, and particularly the feeling that a golden opportunity had been lost, was to have long-term consequences. A willingness to go it alone developed among the Jacobite elements in the anti-Unionist coalition. Next time (1715) Jacobite impatience would lead to a full-scale rebellion, even though they had no prospect of overseas support. ●



■ Silver medal celebrating the failure of the Jacobite invasion.



# UNEASY UNION FOR RESTLESS NATIVES



■ The accession of George I in 1714 – shown arriving at St James's Palace – sparked popular dissent in Scotland.

'Common people' in Scotland disliked the marriage with England – and to show it, they rioted

One of the most common errors in Scottish history is to assume that the Union of 1707 had little or no effect on the lives of ordinary Scots. Nothing could be further from the truth.

On May 1, 1707, the very day that the Union came into effect, it was reported that 'Shoalls of English excisemen & other officers' were on their way north to take up their stations. They had been recruited to collect the duties and taxes which were part of the Union agreement.

Scotland had been subject to customs duties before 1707, but what was new was the greater efficiency with which the English (now British) state collected taxes which were something like five times higher than their pre-Union level.

Higher customs duties made smuggling a more attractive proposition. The smuggling of tobacco, rum, brandy, tea and other imported goods became virtually an everyday business around Scotland's coasts.

Thousands of people were employed casually as look-outs, oarsmen, porters and guards when a vessel loaded with contraband arrived off-shore. The Scots were remarkably good at deceiving revenue officers.

Although the tobacco trade which was to be so important for Glasgow and the Clyde by mid-century was established before the Union, there is no doubt that its startling success in the first 15 years after 1707 ▶





■ Practitioners of Edinburgh's various trades at work outside Holyrood Palace. But labourers were lucky if they had full employment.

owed much to the ability of Scots merchants to evade payment of tobacco duties. English tobacco merchants in rival ports such as Liverpool protested loudly about the Scots' exploits.

New and steeper excise duties had an even more immediate impact on ordinary people. Their effect was to raise the prices of several commodities. Again, the inclination of those affected was to avoid payment. Tax evasion on vital foodstuffs like salt was endemic in 18th-century Scotland.

The higher level of form-filling bureaucracy for the revenue officers when commodities like coal were shipped from pit to market took time, raised costs and led to irritation and anger. As early as August, 1707, Edinburgh brewers "by reason of the Severity of the Gadgers [excisemen]", were reported to have risen in a mob, and to have put out the fires of brewers who had not stopped.

Attempts to collect the Malt Tax from brewers in June, 1725, led to even more serious disturbances, first in Glasgow (the Shawfield Riot), which was controlled by the

mob for the best part of two weeks, but also in Ayr, Dundee, Elgin, Paisley and Stirling. This was virtually a national rising.

The effect of even small increases in excise duty or prices of imports could be severe. Wage levels and living standards remained low until the 1760s. Most work was available only on a seasonal or temporary basis and under-employment was rife. Labourers in Lowland Scotland were lucky to be employed for more than seven or eight months out of 12. The typical family or household lived close to subsistence level, and at some stage invariably experienced acute poverty.

Partly for this reason, windfall payments in a neighbourhood after the unloading and distribution of a contraband cargo could make a huge difference to a family's standard of living. Avoiding taxes on ale or salt clearly cut household costs. So revenue officers, whatever their nationality, were hated and feared throughout much of early modern Europe where powerful states were extending their tax-raising activities over their entire territories. Officers were often

attacked by ferocious mobs. Indeed, from all parts of Lowland Scotland comes evidence of extraordinary disorder in the first half of the 18th century. Apart from assaulting customs and excise men, mobs also turned on warehouses which held their seized smuggled goods.

The crowds – rarely below 30 or 40 people, and often more – were usually armed with stones, clubs, pitchforks and occasionally firearms. One historian described this as a 'national sport' but it was more serious than that.

From many parts of the country came pleas from customs and excise staff for military aid. In Perth in 1722, for example, officers reckoned that unless at least half the garrison then stationed in the town remained, "we shall certainly be mobbed, and our warehouse be broke open". Intervention of the military was, however, no guarantee that order would be restored.

In Fraserburgh in 1735 troops were the focus of a "most atrocious Riot" and attacked by a crowd carrying "guns and other mortall weapons". The main grievance was that customs officers had conducted



■ How an average Scotsman would have dressed in 1700. These woollen clothes were preserved in a peat bog.

their search for contraband brandy on the Sabbath, while the community had been at church.

Rioting appears to have been particularly severe in and around Dundee and burghs like Arbroath and Montrose, as well as in the south-west. Both sexes took part, although females seem to have been particularly prominent in Dumfries and Galloway. In 1711 alone there were at least four big disturbances involving virtually all-female crowds.

The situation was made worse by the impact of the Union on the Scottish economy, which had been struggling before 1707. Many merchants flourished in post-Union years, as trade with England grew. So too did Scotland's transatlantic trade, with Virginia and Maryland, and the West Indies.

Home industries were hit hard, however – such as linen. Scotland's most important manufacture at the end of the 17th century struggled with higher export duties imposed by Westminster, while woollen cloth-makers found it hard to compete with England's better-quality cloth. Fishing, too, struggled to cope with high taxes on





■ Glasgow's busy dockside. In immediate post-Union years the rise of the Clyde tobacco industry owed much to Scots' ability to evade the customs officers.

imported salt, used for preserving fish. The result was unemployment. Making ends meet became even more difficult. So bad was the situation in the Fife burgh of Dysart in 1719 that the town council agreed to waive burial fees because the inhabitants were "not in Conditione to pay".

That matters were worse in the east than the west might explain why anti-customs and excise rioting was more severe in a burgh like Montrose, where protest was linked with the town's being "full of idle, Abandoned, Beggary people".

Not entirely fairly, it was the Union which was blamed for the suffering. This is what Daniel Defoe and his party of English visitors to Scotland found in the mid-1720s.

Puzzled as to why the 'common people' seemed so hostile to them, he concluded it was because they were from England, and because of the Union 'which they almost universally exclaimed against'.

Ironically, the fact that the Union also produced direct economic benefits was yet another cause of resentment – and more violence.

Landowner interests had been

## Rioters were acting in defence of the 'moral economy' – a belief that food should be affordable for all the people

well-served in the Articles of Union. Two are particularly relevant. The first – a higher level of 'drawback' (or bounty) for exports of oats; the second a guarantee that Scottish black cattle could be freely sold in England.

Exports of grain from Scotland rose steeply after 1707, nearly doubling by the early 1720s, but this was a matter of deep concern for people in the east-coast ports from which most grain was shipped.

In some market places shortages were reported. Fears grew that prices might rise and that conditions in burghs concerned could worsen.

There was also the spectre of a return to the dearth years of the 1690s. As a result, a wave of rioting broke out early in 1720, first in the south of Fife, then westwards to Kincardine and finally north through Dundee to Montrose.

Lasting from January to March, this was the most serious bout of food rioting Scotland had ever

seen. Ships at harbour were holed, and had their sails and rigging cut down or rudders torn off. Crowds ranging from around 100 to 2,000 rampaged through the streets.

The authorities in Edinburgh and London – including King George I – were outraged at what were described as 'insurrections'. The commander of British troops in Scotland was ordered to intervene and special trials were held. The fear was that the rioters, the 'Giddy Mob', were potential Jacobites stirring a rising like that of 1715.

They had less reason to be concerned than they thought however, even though Jacobite sympathisers did try to exploit the economic difficulties of the time for their own purposes. The rioters were acting in defence of the 'moral economy', an unspoken belief that the community was entitled to obtain sufficient food at reasonable prices. Their sense of injustice was aroused because shortages were

beginning to appear even although harvests had been plentiful. The impact of the Union had been uneven, benefiting a few landlords, but causing considerable difficulties for the labouring poor. Recovery of the droving trade in black cattle also led to unrest, this time in the south-west, in Galloway, Kirkcudbright and Wigton. To create huge pens for herding their cattle, landowners forced many hundreds of small peasant farmers off their land. A crisis was reached in 1724 and 1725 when large crowds assembled, often at night, to tear down the walls of the newly-erected enclosures, leading historians to call this series of disturbances the Levellers' Revolt.

Scotland in the 1710s, 20s and 30s proved hard if not impossible to govern. Integration in the new British state was proving by no means straightforward.

It is usually assumed that the Jacobites represented the major source of instability in Scotland in this period. But there were other challenges for Westminster. And one of these was a threat to the Union itself. ●



# A DAWNING SENSE BEEN SOLD DOWN

■ Panoramic view of the River Thames around 1707, showing the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey; oil on canvas by Anthony Joli.





# THEY HAD THE RIVER



No Secretary of State for Scotland, no Privy Council in Edinburgh. Few should have been surprised when, in 1713, a breach of the 1707 Treaty revealed England's view of the Union as only extending its authority over the Scots

The great court politicians who persuaded the last Scottish Parliament to vote itself out of existence, such as the Duke of Queensberry or the Earl of Seafield, assumed they were centralising parliamentary but not executive authority. In other words, they assumed that the Scottish Executive would continue to be resident in Edinburgh in the form of the Scottish Privy Council, the monarch's Scottish cabinet, of which they were all members.

They failed to reckon, however, with the persuasive powers of pro-Union, but anti-Court, politicians of the notorious 'Squadron' party whose last-minute change of sides had helped the Court carry the day in gaining Scottish approval for parliamentary union.

For the Squadron, the Scottish Privy Council was a closed system designed to perpetuate the power of people like Queensberry. Once there was a Union, they argued, differences between Scottish and English government should be broken down under the authority of a British Privy Council meeting in London close to Parliament.

Such a system would give all pro-Union Scots the chance of access to some influence with the government rather than perpetuating the power of a favoured coterie.

When Queen Anne addressed the first session of the new British Parliament in the autumn of 1707 she spoke of "rendering the Union more complete" and in December before a committee of the whole house, Squadron politician George Baillie of Jerviswood argued that the British Privy Council should take responsibility for Scotland.

At first the English Ministry debated the merits of the proposal, but the English government was more concerned with its own power than with genuinely

completing the union it had just created.

Government supporters such as Robert Walpole from 1701 onwards argued for keeping the Scottish Privy Council during a transitional period while the Union was established. Scotland administratively, but this argument was answered by the counter-assertion that the longer the Privy Council was continued, the stronger would be attempts to retain it permanently. The debate in the House of Lords was similar, and in February, 1708, the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council became law.

This development created real administrative difficulties in Scotland, where the Privy Council had, in the absence of a resident monarch for so many years, become the centre of executive action. By the end of 1708 the English ministry had reacted by making Queensberry, so closely identified with the old Scottish Privy Council, a third British Secretary of State resident in London. He was equal in status to his two English colleagues but with the specific responsibility of dealing with any Scottish business.

This did not last long. When the English Tory ministry headed by the Earl of Oxford took power in 1710, it made a point of abolishing the third secretaryship and dealing with Scottish affairs through the other two offices. Partly as a result, two fundamental encroachments on the Treaty of Union were carried out which enraged Presbyterian opinion in Scotland. The first was the case of James Greenshields, an English minister who defied the Presbytery of Edinburgh by openly holding Anglican services in the city and who was imprisoned by the burgh council as a result of his actions. The Court of Session, the supreme civil court of Scotland, upheld the right of the Edinburgh council to defend the Presbyterian establishment in such a manner, but Greenshields and his supporters ▶



Scotland was outraged. The message that came from Westminster seemed to be clear – that despite the Union, Scots were seen as foreigners in London

appealed to the House of Lords, arguing that under the Union the now British parliament was the court of final appeal. Sympathy for Scottish Episcopalians ran high with an English Tory party in parliament, who saw Episcopacy as the natural order of things in the established church, and were innately suspicious of Presbyterianism. Greenshields' cause was vindicated, Parliament went on to grant toleration for Episcopalians in Scotland, and the sovereignty of the Court of Session's judicial independence was breached.

As if this were not bad enough, despite protests from the Earl of Oxford at the danger of alienating opinion in Scotland, the rights of church patronage abolished by the Scots Parliament in 1690 were restored by Act of the Westminster Parliament in 1712. It remained law in Scotland until 1874, creating a grievance which divided the Church of Scotland and Scottish Presbyterianism generally for a century and a half. Landowners, and in a third of all parishes the government itself, could now appoint their nominees as the ministers of the church, emphasising superiority of state over church in a manner calculated to enrage those many Scots in the Lowlands who saw the independence of the Kirk as the cornerstone of its role in society.

Oxford could not even comfort himself by looking to the unqualified support of Scottish Episcopalians.

Their aristocratic leaders had been offended by Oxford's failure to fight for the admission of the Duke of Hamilton to the House of Lords in 1711 after he had been made a member of the peerage of Great



Britain as Duke of Brandon. In December, 1711, a proposal to admit Hamilton to the Lords under his new title was defeated by five votes. National feeling of all description in Scotland was outraged by a policy which would not be reversed until 1782. The message from Westminster seemed to be clear: despite the Union, Scots were seen as foreigners in London.

By 1713 Oxford realised his mistake, and a third secretary's post

was again created for Scottish business and given to a Scottish politician, this time the Earl of Mar, who would come to the attention of a different British ministry in a rather different way in 1715 by raising the standard of the Stuart dynasty at Braemar. Although Mar's post was set up to deal with Scottish business, he was not designated as Secretary of State for Scotland.

Just as with Queensberry, Mar was a (third) British Secretary of

State, operating under the authority of the British Privy Council governing Great Britain in the name of Queen Anne. By 1713, however, the damage done to Scottish government by the abolition of the Privy Council and the failure to maintain a Secretary of State for Scotland within the British ministry had impacted on the Union settlement in the most dramatic way.

Scottish peers in the House of Lords brought forward a bill to



■ When the Earl of Oxford (right) saw his mistake in abolishing the third secretaryship that dealt with Scotland, the renewed post went to the Earl of Mar (left).

dissolve the Union. The immediate cause of this was a parliamentary vote to extend the Malt tax to Scotland, which was a breach of the Treaty of Union under Article 13.

Some English Tories saw an opportunity for getting Scottish support for abolishing the Malt Tax generally in Britain if it were extended to Scotland and had proceeded to carry the vote on this basis. The tax, affecting the price of beer, was viewed as oppressive. The hostilities of the Scottish Members of Parliament, both Lords and Commons, were directed at extension of the tax for its symbolic breach of the Treaty of Union and as a general indication of English reluctance to engage with Union as anything more than an extension of English authority over Scotland.

The bill was introduced in the House of Lords by the former Lord Chancellor of Scotland – in 1707 the Earl of Seafield, but by 1713 known as the Earl of Findlater. His bill was the result of a meeting of all Scottish representatives to Parliament, and as grievances Findlater mentioned not only the Malt Tax and higher taxation generally, but the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council, the refusal of the House of Lords to admit to full membership Scottish peers who had been awarded British peerages since 1706, and the loss of our trade and manufactures”, a general condemnation of the failure of the Union to deliver the economic improvements expected to be its consequence.

Findlater's motion failed by four votes in the Lords once proxies and by absentees were counted. Many English Whig peers voted against, because the Scots had not yet completed negotiations with them over guaranteeing the succession of George I as King of Scotland on the death of Queen Anne, if the separate Scottish kingdom had been restored.

It was no mistake that when the Jacobite standard was raised at Braemar in 1715 by the former third British Secretary of State, the Earl of Mar – after the death of Queen Anne and the succession of her distant German cousin George as the king of Great Britain – that the standard would bear the legend, ‘No Union’. When the Jacobite forces



... stated their reasons for rebellion ... that occupation of Perth ... year, their grievances would be more or less exactly ... put forward by the Earl of ... in the House of Lords ... higher taxation, ... tion of the Scottish Privy ... Council, disadvantages to Scots ... trade and domestic ... textile production, refusal to ... Scots who gained ... but also ... in the Scots legal ... failure to fulfil all the ... obligations entered into by ... Treasury as part of the ... Act of Union.

The Union of 1707 had failed by 1715. The question was, what would replace it? ●

■ Crown of George I, who became Great Britain's king on Anne's death.





MEMOIRS  
Concerning the Affairs of  
SCOTLAND,  
FROM  
Queen Anne's  
Accession to the Throne,  
TO THE  
Commencement of the UNION of  
the Two Kingdoms of  
*Scotland and England,*  
In MAY, 1707.

With an Account of the Origine and Progress  
of the Design'd Invasion from *France*, in  
*March, 1708.*

And some Reflections on the Ancient State  
of SCOTLAND.

To which is prefix'd an INTRODUCTION,  
shewing the Reason for Publishing these Me-  
moirs at this Juncture.

London Printed: And Sold by J. Baker, in Paternoster-Row: And the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1714.

He spoke out famously against the Union, and the unauthorised publication of Sir George Lockhart's work has left the nation with a rich insider's account of the Union crisis

Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath was a vociferous opponent of the Union of 1707 and a committed and enthusiastic Jacobite. He was an Episcopalian laird, but when he was young the Argyll boys, who later went played a leading role in 18th century Scottish politics, were two of his best friends. This early friendship with the Argylls would help to save his bacon on numerous occasions in the future as he found himself in political hot water.

His mother was a daughter of the influential Wharton family in England and his uncle, Thomas Wharton, was a leading member of the Whig Junto in England and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1708-1710. Lockhart therefore enjoyed the privilege of being a political maverick because he could rely on the support of the Whig Wharton link and the childhood acquaintance of the Duke of Argyll and the Earl of Islay to save him from punishment as a Jacobite sympathiser.

Lockhart was elected as one of the MPs for the shire of Edinburgh in the last Parliament of Scotland. He aligned himself politically to the Duke of Hamilton and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun as opponents of an incorporating union.

Lockhart's Memoirs, which were published without authorisation in 1714, provide a scathing overview and character assassination of some of the leading politicians involved in securing the Treaty of Union in Scotland. Thus the impact of the Duke of Hamilton's turnaround of September 1, 1705, when he moved that Queen Anne should nominate the commissioners to negotiate a treaty was clear. For Lockhart, it

■ It might have been partisan and one-sided but the unauthorised account by Sir George remains illuminating.



# Maverick and his memoirs



appointment. Lockhart was at first hesitant to take up this position, but he was persuaded to do so by the Duke of Hamilton and Fletcher of Saltoun in order to act as a spy for the Scottish opposition.

Lockhart's presence at the Treaty negotiations would therefore give the opposition a first-hand account and source of information of what had actually taken place as well as provide information on the attitude and behaviour of the other Scottish commissioners.

Lockhart refused to sign the Articles of the Treaty and he voted against the incorporating union as it passed through the Scottish Parliament.

His political career did not end in 1707 and he served in the British Parliament from 1708 to 1714, in which he represented the Midlothian constituency. He was one of only five anti-Union MPs returned from Scotland in the 1708 general election and it appears that he was popular among the 100 or so electors of Midlothian.

In 1711 he was appointed to a British parliamentary commission for examining public accounts and it was in this capacity that he uncovered secret and potentially explosive material relating to the heinous scenes which had been struck in Scotland in 1706. It was the Treaty of Union.

Lockhart found a treasure trove of £20,000 (worth about £100,000 today) which had been paid to the Scottish Treasurer James Boyle, first Earl of Glasgow, as payment for arrears of salary. It was the exposure of this evidence which was to lead to later claims and allegations that widespread bribery had taken place.

Lockhart was also a prime mover and shaker in the move to dissolve the Union in 1712. Two years later,

in 1714, he became embroiled in controversy with the unauthorised publication of his *Memoirs*, which were full of scathing opinions concerning many leading figures and politicians in Scotland.

The publication of his *Memoirs* was used as a pretext to drive Lockhart out of politics, primarily because he was associated with the Tory political interest at Westminster and also because he had been at the forefront of expressing Scottish grievances of the immediate experience of the Union, speaking out against the privileged status given to the Irish linen industry and the outrage over the application of the Malt Tax to Scotland.

Lockhart's parliamentary career ended in 1714, but he then threw himself into Jacobite conspiracies for the rest of his life. He was one of the first people in Scotland to be arrested at the time of the 1715 Jacobite rising, but the influence of his old friend Argyll, now Commander-in-Chief of the Scottish armed forces, resulted in his release on bail. But Lockhart could not be restrained and he promptly proceeded to raise troops among the Jacobite gentry of Midlothian. He was rearrested and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle until he was released under a general indemnity in 1717. By 1720 he was in close contact with the Old Pretender, now living in Rome, and he was also a member of a secret committee to oversee Jacobite affairs in Scotland.

In 1727 he was forced to flee into exile in Holland following the arrest of two of his couriers, but the political influence of the Argylls allowed him to return home on condition that he withdrew from public affairs and minded his own business on his estates.

Lockhart duly kept a low profile for the rest of his life, but it seems that he was killed in a duel early in 1732. A maverick of his own time, his *Memoirs* have left us with a rich, albeit one-sided, account of Scottish politics and the Union crisis. ●

■ Lockhart's appointment as a commissioner was thanks to Wharton (above).

meant that "from this day may we date the commencement of Scotland's ruine" and "this fatal act was the first successful step towards Scotland's chains".

Rather surprisingly, Lockhart was chosen as one of the Scottish commissioners to negotiate the treaty in the summer of 1706. His *Memoirs* are therefore important as they give us a first-hand, if partisan

account of the events which took place behind the scenes of all the Scottish commissioners. Lockhart was the only one who did not have a pro-Union stance.

His appointment was largely due to the political influence and patronage of his uncle Lord Wharton, although it appears Wharton did not bother to consult his nephew on the



# Rising hopes and a



Much ado with no result. During the 1715 rebellion the Jacobites were handicapped by bad luck and bad leadership. The Battle of Sheriffmuir on November 13, 1715, was a draw – but considered a strategic defeat because of the indecisive Earl of Mar's refusal to continue the fight.



# battle nobody won



In 1715, Jacobite discontent with the Union and the Hanoverians turned to armed rebellion – the best opportunity yet for a Stuart restoration. But it was not to be

**T**he 1715 Jacobite Rising was a major stage in the War of the British Succession which lasted from 1688 until the ultimate Jacobite defeat at Culloden in 1746. The death in 1714 of the last Stuart ruler, Queen Anne, increased the volatility of the situation

George I – first of the Hanoverian line, a descendant of the German marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of James VI and I – succeeded peacefully in the same year, but his succession led to Jacobite plans for a rebellion

These were encouraged when he turned against the Tories and denied them favour. By appointing only Whigs, George seemed to doom them to political exclusion and the loss of profitable favour

Unlike 1708, however, the Jacobites would have to try without foreign support. At the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, Britain and France had negotiated peace in 1713, and the Treaty of Utrecht included a French undertaking to recognise the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. In 1715, despite Jacobite hopes to the contrary, the French refused to provide troops.

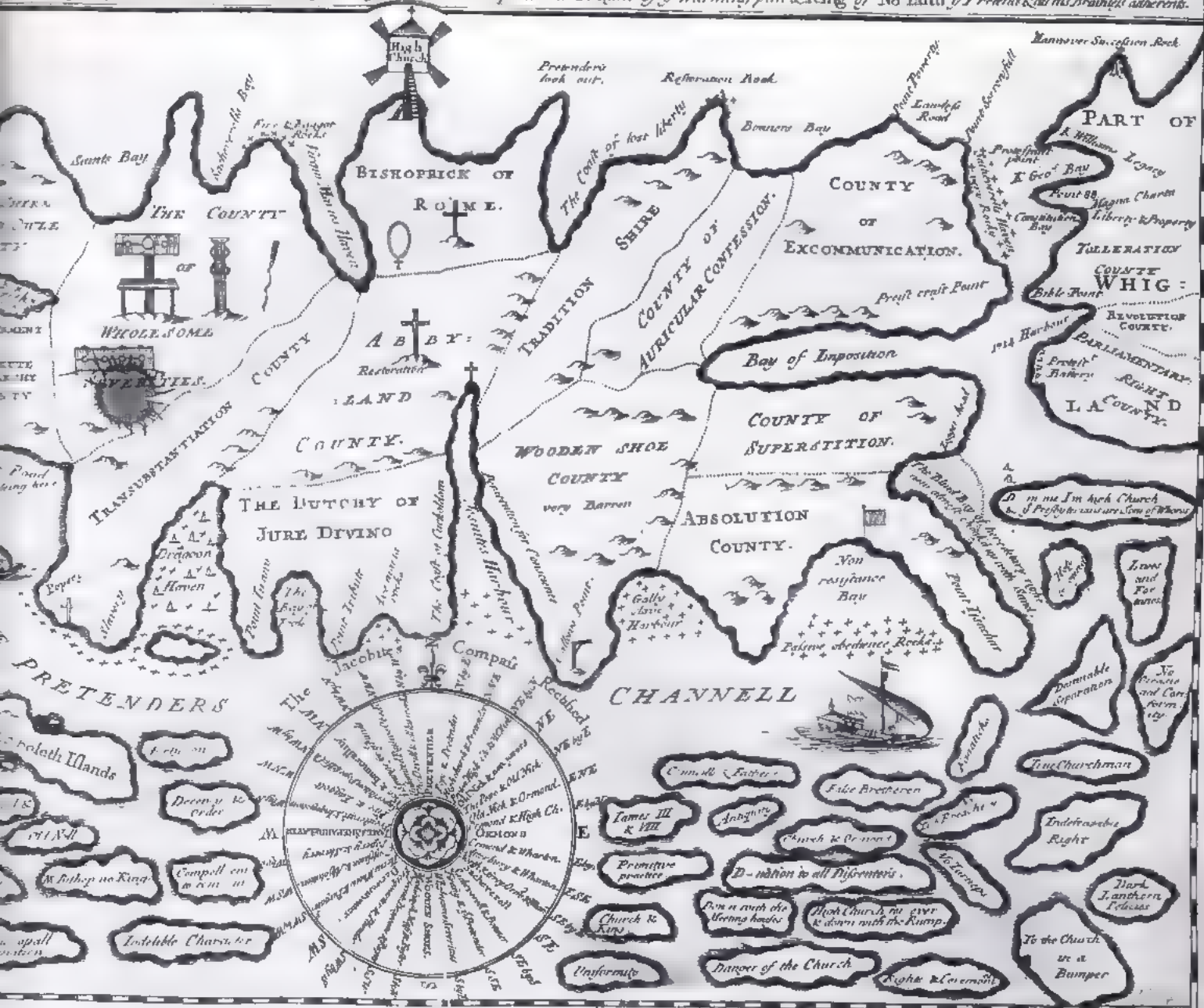
In 1715 the Jacobites planned three risings. James VIII and III was to copy the Duke of Monmouth in 1685 and William III in 1688, by landing in south west England. This was to be the centre of a rebellion that would result, as in 1688, in a march on London. There were also to be rebellions in the Scottish Highlands and the Border counties. However, co-ordination between



[illegible]

## 18 Scotland's Story





the Dangerous Rocks & Shoals of the Jacobite Islands' – Whig cartoonists enjoyed this kind of cartographic comment in the 'Stuart' legitimacy issue.

who rose for the Stuarts in 1715 were more numerous than those who had served under Montrose in the 1640s and under Dundee in 1689.

Nationalism was a crucial factor Argyll was in no doubt of the unpopularity of the Hanoverian cause north of the Forth, but many Lowlanders also rallied to the Jacobites whose support was strong among Episcopalians, possibly the majority of the population

They felt excluded from the religious settlement of 1689 and doubly so as George I's policies appeared to confirm this settlement

In some respects, the '15 looked back to Anglo-Scottish conflicts before the Union of the Crowns in 1603. In 1715, Campbell power under Argyll was crucial to the stalling of a near-general rising.

Similarly, in earlier wars, magnates

allied with the English crown. The indecisive Mar was a poor leader, lacking the dynamism necessary for a rebellious situation, while Argyll was an experienced general who had served in the War of Spanish Succession.

Mar should have retained the initiative and attacked Argyll rapidly, but did not march on Edinburgh until November.

Mar was thwarted by Argyl's firm action. Leaving London on September 9, Argyl had seen to the defences of Edinburgh before concentrating his troops at the crucial bridging point of Stirling.

Argyll moved forward to block Mar's advance on high ground at Sheriffmuir, north of Stirling, on November 13. Unaware of the other's dispositions, each general drew up his forces so that his right

wing overlapped the other's left. This was instrumental in the defeat of the left wings of both armies, but Mar failed to exploit his numerical superiority, initially maybe two to one, and probably far more after the defeat of Argyll's left. Nor did Mar use his reserves.

Argyll was left in possession of the battlefield. The indecisive nature of the battle was to Argyll's advantage as Mar did not continue his advance, and had needed a victory to maintain the momentum of success.

The Jacobites had also risen in Northumberland and the Borders. The Northumbrian Jacobites were far less numerous and formidable as a military force than the Scots, but this was consistent with their role as light forces designed to prepare the ground for the Scots and, hopefully, the French. But the Northumbrian Jacobites were poorly commanded

Having failed to seize opportunities, they retreated to Scotland, joining a Lowland force from south-west Scotland under Lord Kenmuir, and a unit detached from Mar's army under Mackintosh of Borlum at Kelso on October 22

From there, they could have sought to co-ordinate operations with Mar, marching north as he moved south, and thus threatening Argyll's rear. Such co-ordination was difficult in early modern military operations, with their limited communications.

Furthermore, the Jacobites were affected by the advance to Wooler of a government force under the determined Lieutenant-General George Carpenter, a veteran of the War of the Spanish Succession.

The more numerous Jacobites did not attack Carpenter, but instead, against the wishes of the Scots ►



► present, decided to invade Lancashire, an area with many Catholics whom they hoped to raise: the search for manpower was to determine strategy, unfortunately so.

The army, fewer than 3,000 strong, crossed the border on November 1. Carlisle was judged too strong to attack, as Newcastle and Dumfries had earlier been, but the march south was initially successful.

As was also to happen in 1745, the Cumberland and Westmorland militia offered no resistance – indeed fled – and on November 9 the Jacobites entered Preston. But this was to prove as unfortunate for them as it was for invading Scots under the Duke of Hamilton at the hands of Cromwell in August, 1648.

The Jacobite commander, Thomas Forster, proved a poor leader, unable to respond to a crisis. He failed to take adequate steps to learn of his opponents' moves, and to defend the line of the River Ribble against the government troops. The dynamic of an advance south had been lost, unsurprisingly, as in 1715 it served no strategic ends. There was no imminent rising to touch off. Instead, the advance increased the Jacobite forces' exposure to attack, especially through Pennine passes.

An assault by government forces on Preston, which the Jacobites had hastily fortified with barricades, failed on November 12. But instead of attacking them or trying to fight their way out, the Jacobites allowed their enemies to surround the town, and Forster surrendered unconditionally on November 14.

Although there were Jacobite riots in a number of places, there was no rising to support the invaders of Cumbria and this allowed the royal troops to concentrate on them.

Preston marked the end for the '15 in England, and was followed by retribution. But the same was not true of Sheriffmuir and Scotland. After the battle, Mar fell back on Perth, instead of trying to advance again on Edinburgh, the move that was necessary to maintain the coherence of his forces.

On December 22, 1715, James arrived at Peterhead. Had he brought a French force comparable to the one he had been offered in 1692, 1696 and 1708 – or was provided within Ireland in 1689-90 – the situation might have been different. However, although there was considerable sympathy in the French court for James, which worried the British envoy, the Earl of Stair, the government was

**'I am surprised to see so large a body of nobility engaged in so foul a case,' said the British diplomat**

■ Suppression of the 1715 rebellion was quite mild compared with the wake of the '45, and only two of its leaders, Viscount Kenmure and the Earl of Derwentwater, went to the block on Tower Hill.

unwilling to risk a French invasion of Britain, especially after the failure of Louis XIV on September 11, 1711.

He had promised the Jacobites arms but no troops. Jean de La Motte, a Huguenot in German service, noted 13 days earlier: "If a gentleman is a going, that will extinguish the hopes of the better than any of our acts of Parliament."

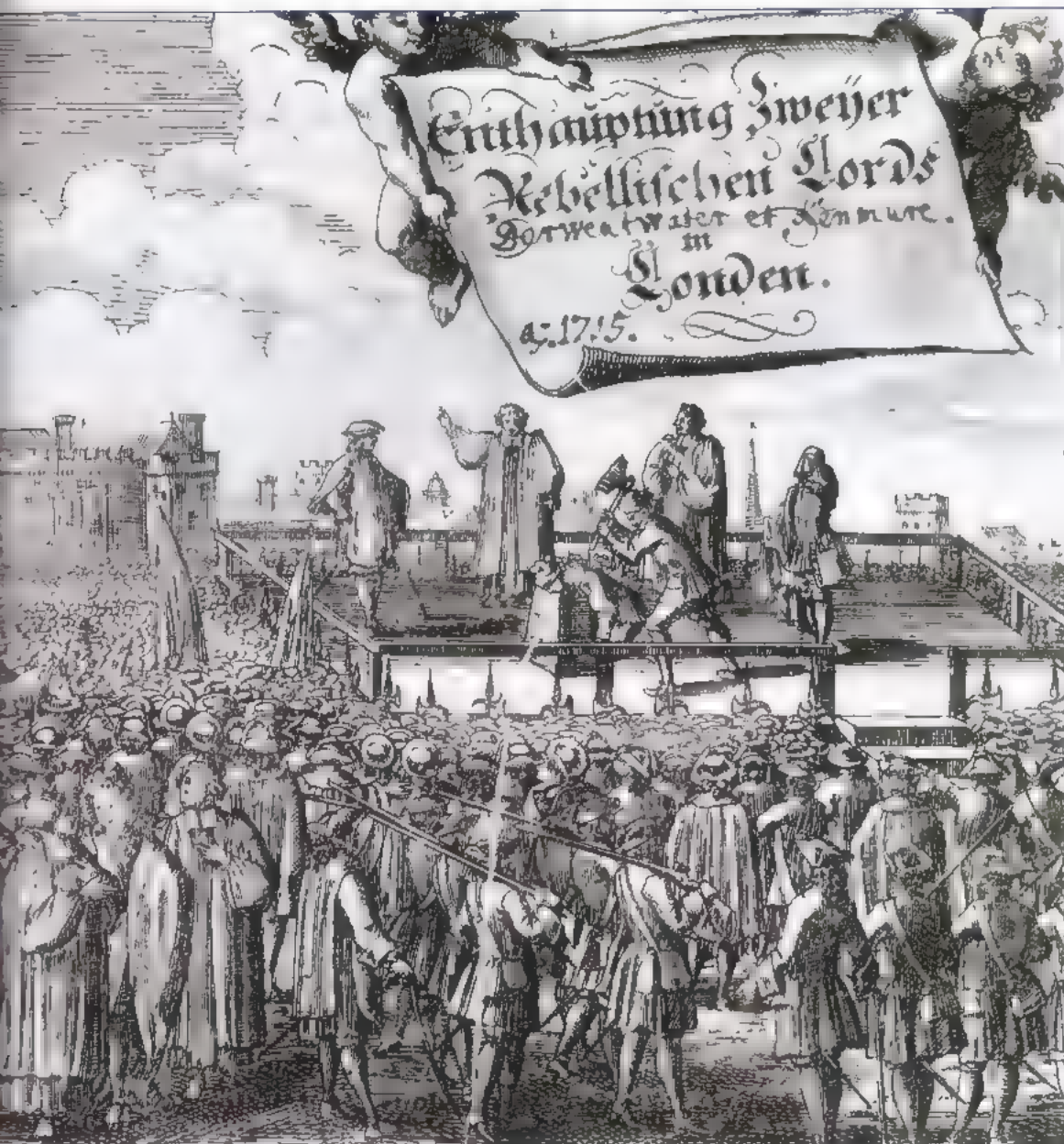
As always in Scottish history, the international context was crucial. George Bubb, a British diplomat, wrote in October of the Jacobites: "I am surprised to see so large a body of nobility engaged in so foul a case. I do not know how far it may be a mark of their bravery, but sure it is none of their judgment, to have chosen the present season to show themselves."

Stair made it clear to the Duke of Orleans, regent for the infant Louis XV, that good relations would depend



■ James Stuart lands at Peterhead – just 15 months after George's accession.





## TIMELINE

**1708**

French-sponsored Jacobite rising ends in disaster, despite widespread support.

**1711**

Female-dominated anti-Union rioting in Dumfries and Galloway.

**1712**

Act restoring Patronage in the Kirk violates the Union agreement; Toleration of Episcopalianism.

**1713**

Scots motion to repeal Union defeated in London; Malt Tax extended to Scotland.

**1715**

Strongly-supported Jacobite Rising ends in failure.

**1720**

While the people suffer, landowners begin to benefit from post-Union economy.

**1722**

Popular anti-Union hostilities in Perth.

**1724**

Levellers' Revolt caused by landowners forcing small farmers off their land to make way for cattle.

**1725**

Tightening of Malt duty provokes widespread unrest.

**1735**

Troops attacked by armed anti-Union mob in Fraserburgh.

on the French refusing to help James and Orleans. Although James failed to bring any French support, he was warmly welcomed, making state entries to Dundee on January 6, 1716, and to Perth on the 9th

James moved on to Scone where his coronation was planned, arriving there on January 8. However, freed of concern about England, the government had now provided Argyll with a far larger army, including 6,000 Dutch troops

Despite the bitterness of winter and a Jacobite scorched earth policy, Argyll marched on to Perth on January 21. Unable to confront Argyll in the field, and unwilling and unprepared for guerrilla warfare, the Jacobites had lost the initiative and their army suffered badly from low morale and desertion

James had abandoned Perth, throwing his artillery into the Tay. The army retreated to Montrose,

pursued by the inexorable Argyll. Rather than defending the position, or making a fighting retreat along the coast, James and Mar sailed for France and their force dispersed

Argyll pursued the remaining Jacobites, but without the vigour and violence that was to follow the '45. George had no need of the 3,000 additional troops he had asked the Dutch to hold in readiness

More generally, the effectiveness of government forces had improved because of military developments. These focused on the increase in firepower following the use of flintlock muskets and the spread of improved bayonets

The bayonet was a recent innovation. Initially, plug bayonets had been used, but these knife blades inserted into gun muzzles prevented guns from being fired, as happened to the detriment of the Williamite forces at Killycrankie in

1689. They were replaced by socket bayonets, blades fixed to collars screwed around the outside of muzzles. The bayonet hugely increased infantry firepower by leading to the end of the pikemen

Although the bayonet did not have the same defensive capability as the pike (the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk in 1745 were to reveal this limitation) nevertheless the greater firepower stemming from the use of socket bayonets could be crucial, as was shown at Culloden

In some respects, the '15 was the Jacobites' best chance in the 18th century. In 1715, the Hanoverian dynasty was only recently established in Britain, and Jacobite support in Scotland was at a higher pitch than during the '45

However, the '15 indicated that rebellion could only achieve limited success without good leadership and foreign support ●



## ■ How the Bishop's Castle

The Bishop's Castle was built by the Bishop of Glasgow in the 12th century. It was a large stone building with a central tower and several smaller towers. The castle was used as a residence for the Bishop and his family. It was also used as a place of refuge for the poor and the sick. The castle was destroyed by fire in the 16th century. The ruins of the castle are still visible today.





# THE HOLY CITY OF GLASGOW

Today's big and bustling 'dear green place' was once miles different: a key religious centre that became a burgh in 1175

Glasgow is generally regarded as a Victorian city, a product of the industrial revolution, and since the mid 1980s, a post industrial city

Nevertheless, the town has a long history, dating back to the 6th century, when it was regarded as a holy place. The burgh was established by King William the Lion in 1175, and Glasgow was by that time an important Medieval town. It was the heart of a large diocese, headed by the bishop with financial interests all over the west and south of Scotland.

In 1450, it also became a University town. As it grew up at one of the crossing points over the River Clyde, the settlement of Gorbals formed on the south side of the river opposite. The Molendinar burn was a convenient water supply and similarly, further down the Clyde, the village of Partick on the north side, drew its water from the River Kelyin. Partick developed opposite Govan, another noted holy place, on the south side

It is thought that the name Glasgow derives from the Celtic 'Glas-chu' – the 'dear green place' of St Kentigern (pet name, Mungo) who followed the white oxen pulling the cart carrying the body of the holy man, Fergus. St Mungo had a divine instruction to bury Fergus where the oxen stopped, and this place became the site of Glasgow Cathedral where the 'Aisle of Car Fergus' was built by Glasgow's first Archbishop Robert Blacadar – in



■ Archbishop Blacadar shown in a decorative page of his prayer book.

the early 16th century. Glasgow's importance in the middle ages was shaped and strengthened by the cult of St Mungo (518-603AD), to whom the cathedral was dedicated, and his mother, St Thenew. The miracles told of in the life of St Mungo provided the basic emblems for Glasgow's coat of arms today, and they are remembered in this children's rhyme

This is the bird that never dies  
This is the tree that ever greys  
This is the stone that never rang  
This is the man that never dam

The St Mungo legends offer some insights into the status of women in Celtic Scotland. His mother Thenew,

daughter of Loth, King of the Lothians, was raped because she refused to marry. She was sentenced to a violent death for her extra-marital pregnancy then put in a boat and cast into the Firth of Forth

But, guided by fish, the boat landed at Culross, where she gave birth to St Mungo. She is thus on record as Scotland's first named rape victim, battered woman and unmarried mother

The western approach to Glasgow from Dumbarton was by St Thenew's Gate where, on the site now occupied by St Enoch's Square – the name Thenew, or Tannoeh was later corrupted to 'Enoch' – was the





■ Portrait of St Thenew, 'miracle' mother of St Kentigern (or Mungo).

Despite the change from Catholic to Protestant with the Reformation, Glasgow lived in a theocracy where in everyday life religion was the most important factor

► chapel, holy well, and tree of St Thenew. Pilgrims seeking cures would dip a strip of their clothing in the water, then tie it to the tree. When cleaned out in the 18th century, lead votive pieces were found at the bottom of the well.

Chapels at the other extremities of the town included those of St Roche to the north, and St Ninian's Chapel and hospital in Gorbals, both of which were the resort of lepers and plague victims. The chapel of Little St Mungo, in Gallowgate, served the east.

The main building in Medieval Glasgow was the cathedral itself, built by Bishop Jocelyn (1174-1199) after a fire had destroyed the earlier, probably wooden building. Virtually nothing remains of Jocelyn's church itself. The intricately beautiful vaulting of the Lower Church, built to house the tomb of St Mungo and the Lady Chapel, was erected by Bishop William Bondington (1233-1258) and his successors, during the golden reign of King Alexander III, before the turmoil of the War of Independence. The building work was still unfinished when Archbishop Blacadar died in 1508.

When the Scottish Reformers set about 'cleansing' the churches of the Catholic religion in the 16th century, the Trades of Glasgow took up arms to defend their church "swearing with many oaths that he who did cast down the first stone should be burned under it". For that reason, Glasgow Cathedral is the best preserved building of its kind in Scotland, with even its rood screen intact.

The next building in importance was the Bishop's Castle. Glasgow was established as a bishop's burgh, which was of lesser status than its nearest rival, the Royal Burgh of Rutherglen. The Bishop's Castle was the administrative and judicial centre of the town, as well as the bishop's residence. As Glasgow was not a walled town, the wall of the castle offered some physical protection in times of trouble. The castle

dominated the landscape until the 18th century, when it was demolished to make way for the Royal Infirmary. The site was excavated in 1984-8, when structures dating back to the 12th century were uncovered. It was then built upon by the current Museum of Religion, which is an architectural pastiche of its predecessor.

The foundation charter of Glasgow was granted to Bishop Jocelyn (1174-1199) in about 1175, and in 1190 he was granted the further privilege of holding an annual Fair in Glasgow on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. More than eight centuries later, the Glasgow Fair still takes place at this time, in the third week of July, although the Fair itself has undergone many changes of form and purpose.

It was Bishop William Rae (1339-1367) who had the first stone and timber bridge built across the Clyde. By this time, there were two distinctive parts to Glasgow. In the north was the stone built cathedral quarter, with its great Bishop's Palace and its 32 manse, housing the priests and choristers who served in the cathedral. The priests and their houses were funded from lands and rents elsewhere in the diocese, and the manses were named accordingly: Eddleston, Stobo, Luss, Douglas, Carnwarth, Melrose, Eaglesham, Morebattle, Ancrum, Paisley, Renfrew, Govan and Provan.

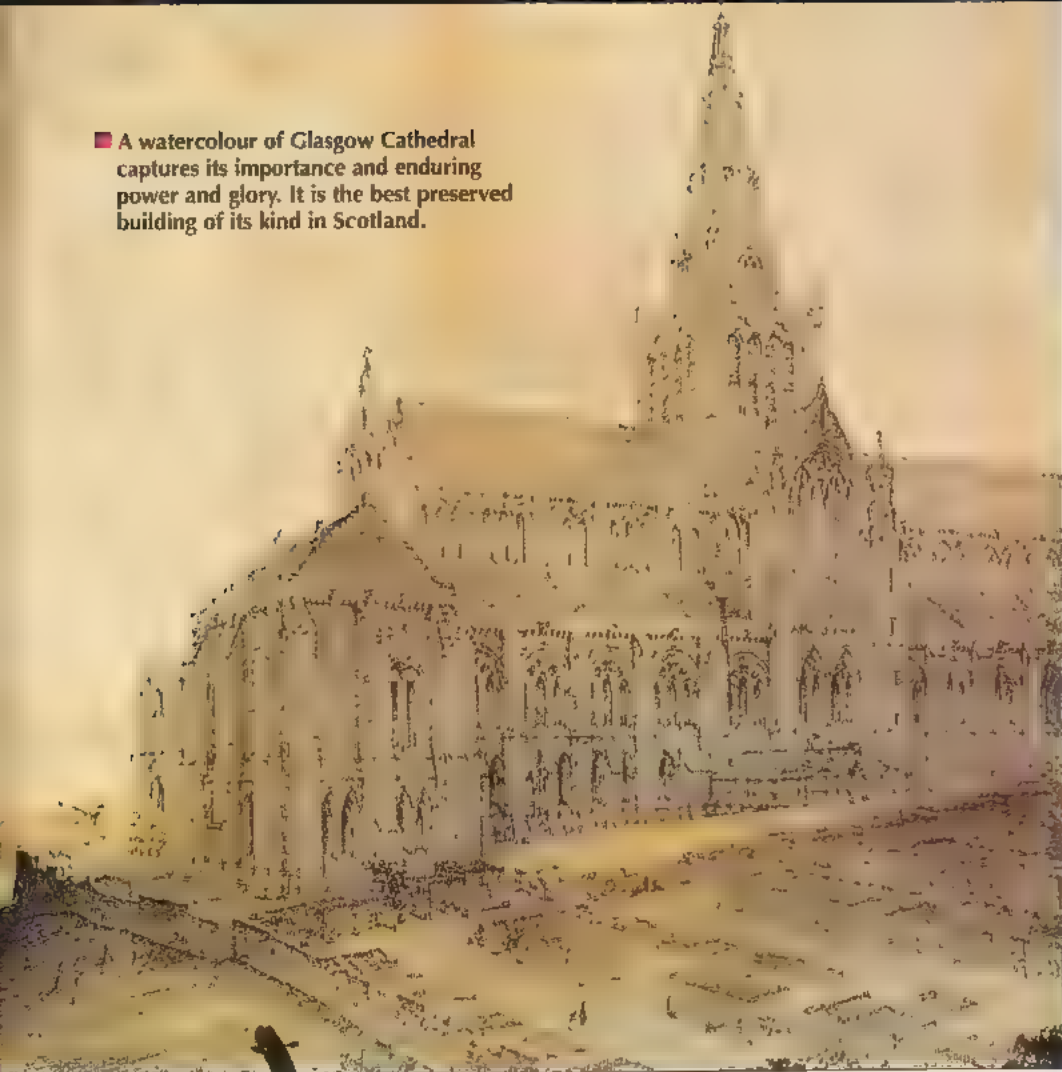
Many of these old houses survived into the 19th century and one, the Manse of Provan, now remains as 'the oldest house in Glasgow'. It was built in 1471 by Bishop Andrew Murhead, who also funded the house of the vicar's choral for "the priests who serve the flourishing choir of Glasgow".

The lower town, from Gallowgate and Trongate and down Saltmarket and Bridgegate to the Clyde, was an area of wood and wattle-built artisan housing, where fishermen and tradespeople who served the stone-built upper town lived.

Many of the Bishops of Glasgow



■ A watercolour of Glasgow Cathedral captures its importance and enduring power and glory. It is the best preserved building of its kind in Scotland.



■ The oldest house in Glasgow: the Manse of Provan, or Provand's Lordship, was built in 1471.

were important statesmen. Bishop Robert Wishart (1273-1316) who was in office for a record 43 years, was responsible – more than any other person – for the survival of Scotland as an independent nation, during the wars with England. He was one of six Guardians of the

Realm appointed to protect Scotland on the death of Alexander III in 1286. He supported the rising of Wallace and absolved Robert Bruce of the murder of the Red Comyn before the Pope heard of it and excommunicated him.

He supplied the robes and banners for the coronation of Bruce at Scone and used the building materials given by Edward I to Glasgow Cathedral to make war engines for the Scottish cause. Captured by the English in 1306, he remained their prisoner until after the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314.

Robert Blacadar, first Archbishop of Glasgow (1483-1508) was educated in St Andrews and Paris, and undertook an extensive building programme in the Cathedral. It was due to him that the See of Glasgow became an Archbishopric in 1492, equalling the status of St Andrews. He was appointed ambassador for King James IV and travelled Europe to find a suitable bride for him. The marriage of James IV to Margaret Tudor – 'the thistle and the rose'

took place in 1503. Blacadar died on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1508.

By the time of the Scottish Reformation, Glasgow's original purpose as a cathedral town had waned. The economic centre shifted southwards, towards the Clyde.

In 1605, it became necessary to resolve the disputes between the two most powerful economic groups in the town, the Merchants and the Trades. The Merchants House and Trades House were created by the Letter of Guildry, obtained from James VI, in that year.

The Trades of Glasgow, of which there were 14 (tailors, hammermen, cordiners, maltmen, weavers, skimmers, coopers, masons, barbers, bakers, wrights, fleshers, gardeners, and bonnetmakers and dyers) became separate Incorporations, each with its own office-bearers so that all trade issues could be carefully regulated. These Incorporations met in the Trades House.

The Merchants House, designed by Sir William Bruce and rebuilt in Bridgegate in 1659, was the most important building after the Tolbooth or Town House in 17th-century Glasgow. Its still-surviving steeple, 164 feet in height, served as a look-out tower for merchants

checking the progress of their cargoes coming by barge up the shallow Clyde from Port Glasgow.

The most fashionable streets in 17th-century Glasgow were Trongate and Stockwell Street, where the wealthy merchant class chose to live.

Although religion had changed from Catholic to Protestant in the 16th and 17th centuries, Glasgow, like the rest of Scotland, continued to live within a theocracy. Religion was the most important factor in everyday life – the 'Scripture Rules for the Buying and Selling of Goods' were written in gold on the black walls of the Merchants House.

In November-December, 1638, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held in Glasgow Cathedral, and proved to be one of the great events in Scottish church history. The King's commissioner was dismissed. Christ was declared to be the Head of the Church, and the entire system of bishops and formal religion, introduced by Charles I as a control mechanism, was abolished.

Elated, the Moderator Alexander Henderson declared "The name of this city Glasgow may from henceforth be, 'Jehovah Shammah' 'The Lord is here'".

This was to change within the century. ●



■ The emblems on Glasgow's coat-of-arms (bird, tree, bell and fish) were inspired by the story of St Kentigern.



# Without a word, he makes you laugh

**But comic genius Rikki Fulton can also show he is seriously talented**

**R**ikki Fulton is one of the funniest men Scotland has ever produced. Among the country's older generation in particular, he is a living legend whose many guises and facial expressions almost force you to laugh out loud whenever you see him.

From the laugh-a-minute Sixties humour of 'Francie and Josie' through to the timeless comedy of 'Scotch and Wry', Rikki has long known instinctively how to make his audiences roll in the aisles.

However, the legendary comedian now aged 75 - has seen more than his share of death and tragedy, and on one occasion came very close to losing his own life when his ship was sunk by the Germans during the Second World War.

The son of a Glasgow East End newsagent, Rikki was born in 1924 and went to school in the city's Riddrie and Dennistoun districts.

He left formal education at the age of 15 and quickly showed his talent for acting. He created his first stage at home from an armchair and a blackboard - and one of his big finales in his fireside act was to sit on his Dad's top hat!

After refining his technique further through acting sessions in the city's St Andrew's East Church Hall, Rikki got a job in a shipping office and volunteered to join the Royal Navy in 1942. He was sent to the Mediterranean, where he was on the crew of the vessel the *Ibis*.

This was when the biggest drama of his life happened - when the *Ibis* was sunk by enemy fire, leaving him in the water for five hours before he was finally rescued.

Many of his colleagues died, but he just managed to survive - and went on to train as an officer.

It wasn't long, however, before Rikki's true talents as an entertainer were discovered and he was offered the chance to appear at variety

concerts. But at the same time, he couldn't get away from active duty with his remaining war service including the hunting of U-boats in a small motor boat.

After the war, Rikki returned to Britain and found a BBC radio comedy slot as a regular character, resulting in his first television

hit. He then teamed up with the Scottish actor Jack Milroy in the 'Francie and Josie' double act. They were like a Scottish version of Morecambe and Wise, relying on fast banter and clean jokes which had a huge appeal to the audience.

They started on the stage, but became so popular that it wasn't long before they were on television.

It was his role in 'Francie and Josie' which turned Rikki into a household name. It also led on to 'Scotch and Wry', the comedy series which is one of the best-loved in Scotland and which is as much a part of Hogmanay celebrations as whisky, black bun and lumps of coal.

Over the years, he has turned the fictional 'Scotch and Wry' characters

into a policeman Supercop and a Scotland minister the Rev Jim Macintosh into national cult heroes. 'Scotch and Wry' has turned Rikki into a national institution. Although it should be remembered that he is an extremely talented actor in serious roles as well, as he proved

when he appeared in the film of the Russian police thriller *Gorky Park*.

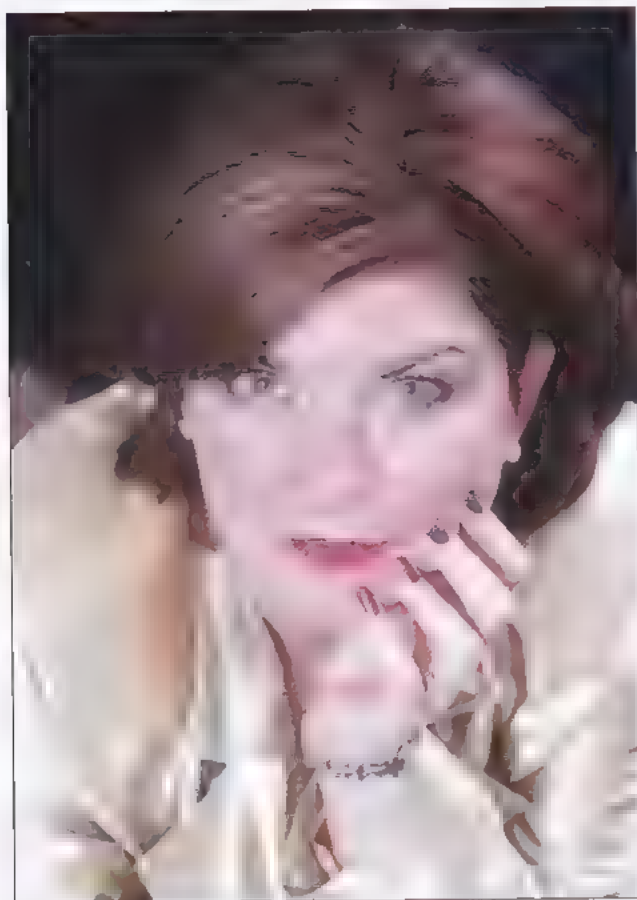
When not working, Rikki enjoys a round of golf and relaxing at his luxury home in Glasgow's West End.

He has also been working lately on his autobiography. ●



■ Fulton's expressive face has created unforgettable, almost legendary characters.





■ Elaine was a theatre actress before being called to the screen.

# MORE THAN RAB'S WIFE

**A woman of many parts, Elaine C Smith has political ambitions**

Elaine C Smith has amused and appalled the Scottish nation in equal measure as the long-suffering, utterly classless wife of Rab C Nesbitt in the popular TV series of the same name.

Her portrayal of Rab's wife Mary Doll is brilliant – but the real Elaine is a woman of many parts who has built up a deserved reputation as one of Scotland's most accomplished theatre and television stars.

The 42-year-old Lanarkshire-born actress now lives in Glasgow's East End. She was trained at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama – though, ironically, she went there to study as a drama teacher and only considered

acting when she saw the others doing it.

She went on to perform professionally with the 7.84 and Wildcat theatre companies before coming to the attention of the BBC, which gave her the screen opportunities that turned her into a national name.

Even though the 'Rab C Nesbitt' series recently came to an end, she continues to perform regularly in other roles. In future, though, we may see her in a totally different guise – that of a politician.

A strong supporter of the SNP, she has said in the past that she would like to run for the Scottish parliament. With her formidable talent and determination, it seems unlikely anyone will stop her.

# How Logan pulls up the pantos

Oh, yes he is – Jimmy Logan is one of Scotland's most revered pantomime heroes who, over a lifetime in showbusiness, has made hundreds of thousands of people laugh.

Now 71, Jimmy has the sort of instantly recognisable face which could have been carved from a block of granite. Like Rikki Fulton, he has become something of a Scottish institution, with regular appearances on television as often as the stage.

He was brought up in Glasgow, and while still a child took an active part in helping his family's relief operation to run a basement shelter where families who had been bombed out of their homes by the Nazis could find a place to stay.

It was greasepaint, however, which was really in his veins. He changed his name from Jim Short to Jimmy Logan, and made his name – along with other members of his family – by nightly music hall performances at the city's Metropole Theatre. His sister Annie went to America, where she became a child star before finding her own fam-

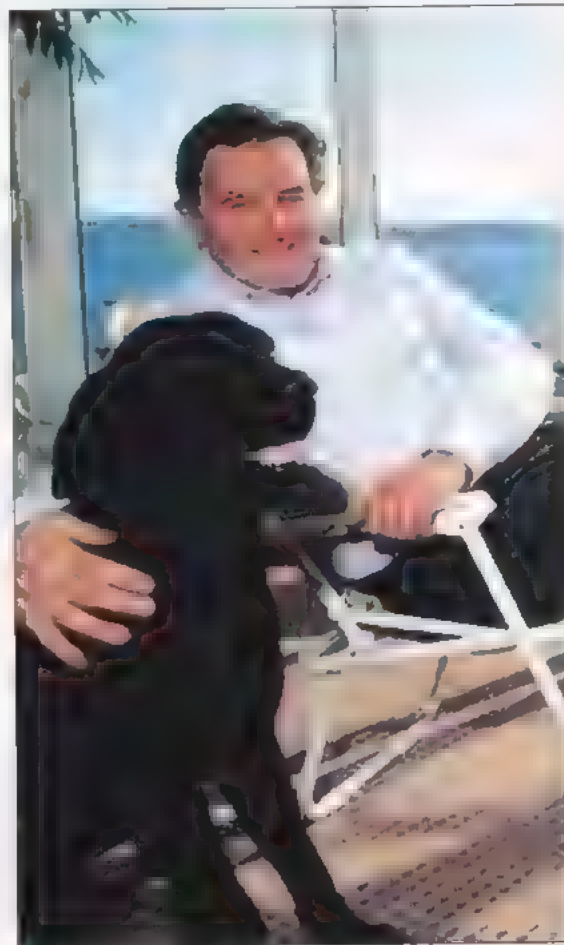
and fortune as jazz singer Annie Ross.

Jimmy made his first panto appearance as the cat in Dick Whittington in 1944, and has been a Christmas favourite ever since. By the Fifties, he was a household name, appearing in films and alongside Stanley Baxter in the radio show 'It's All Yours'.

Since then, he has never looked back, appearing in the famous 'Five Past Eight' show at Glasgow's Alhambra – and in the Sixties buying his own theatre, which he called Jimmy Logan's Metropole. In the Seventies, he appeared in the comedy film 'Carry On Abroad' and made his stage debut in London in 'The Mating Game'.

One of his most successful roles was in his own show 'Lauder', which he created and performed in homage to the music hall star Sir Harry Lauder. In recent years, however, he has taken on more straight roles in productions such as 'The Entertainers'.

Despite his happy-go-lucky demeanour, Jimmy has not always had a happy personal life – he has been married four times, and now lives quietly in Helensburgh.



■ Relaxing at home: Jimmy Logan and four-legged friend.







# saw by candle light

■ How the area looked in Gourlay's time. Bell's Wynd is down past the High Kirk of St Giles on the right of the picture.



doorstep. Without introducing himself, he began to ask the couple strange questions about the house below and enquired if George was a locksmith. Why had he appeared so near to the time when George had entered the house? Who was he? The old stranger asked if Gourlay would go down with him to the house below and help him to unlock the door. The locksmith refused.

"Then you know the secret?" asked the stranger, seeing the horrified look on his face.

"Aye!" he blurted out. "I have seen the roasted duck an' the table set, and the decanters and..."

"Aye, the corpse," said the stranger, hanging his head.

At that point, Christian suddenly recognised their visitor and fled out of the house screaming, "It's the man himself! He's come back! It's the man! It's Mr Guthrie!"

She pleaded with a neighbour to fetch the fiscal and then poured out her story. The stranger, Mr Guthrie, had many years before been the last owner of the house. One night he had returned unexpectedly and found his wife in the arms of another man. In a rage, he had killed Mrs Guthrie's paramour and, moments later, his wife. Christian had been their servant at the time. It was she who had been preparing the meal for Mrs Guthrie and her lover. Guthrie had paid her 10 guineas to keep quiet about the murders and preserve his good name.

The fiscal took an understanding, if not positively lenient, view. "Go man, an' bury your wife," he had said, "You have already paid a greater price, pursued round the world by your own conscience, than the law would ever have demanded."

The ghost of Mrs Guthrie was laid to rest. Yet certain mysteries remain. How could Christian Gourlay have lived for 21 years directly above a house she knew contained a dead body? Why had Mr Guthrie returned for the first time only on the day after George Gourlay had been in the house? And what about the mysterious lover? What had Guthrie done with the body?

These questions have never been answered. ●

## extinguishing the candle as it went



# Towering reminder of 'Bobbing John'



**Recorded as a draw, the clash in the Ochil Hills is recalled by a visit to the Earl of Mar's finely restored birthplace, says biker historian David Ross**

**T**he Earl of Mar, who led the Jacobite forces at the Battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715, was commonly known as 'Bobbing John' due to his ability to duck and dive, or to change sides as the climate suited.

He was born in Alloa Tower, which was built in the reign of David II, between 1360 and 1380. It stands a little east of Alloa town centre, and signposts to it have been erected recently. The tower is an imposing structure. Its site is not particularly defensive, but the walls are 10 feet thick, and the building itself is the epitome of lordly power and strength, rising some 65 feet above the surrounding countryside.

The Battle of Sheriffmuir itself was fought on the western shoulder of the Ochil Hills, a little above Dunblane. The battle has gone down in our history books as a draw, both sides managing to overcome one wing of the other, with the outcome that neither side was too sure who was the victor. Casualties were equal on both sides too. This led to the penning of the sarcastic lines,

*There's some say that we won  
And some say that they won  
And some say that none won at a' man  
But of one thing I'm sure  
That at Sheriffmuir  
A battle there was, that I saw, man  
And we ran and they ran  
And they ran and we ran  
And we ran, and they ran awa' man.*

The easiest way to visit the battle site is by taking the unclassified road, signposted Sheriffmuir, from the large roundabout in Dunblane that was on the route of the old A9 (the town has now been bypassed by a more modern stretch). This runs right through the battle site and again meets the A9 further north at Blackford.

Crossing the battlefield, you find a large memorial cairn at the roadside — the Clan MacRae stone, dedicated to the men of that clan who fought in the battle. It bears an inscription in English and Gaelic, the Gaelic for the clan being MacRath, or 'Son of Grace', the name probably having an ecclesiastical origin.

A path leads down the side of this



■ Alloa Tower, built in the reign of David II, is newly restored and signposted.

cairn to the 'Gathering Stone of the Clans'. There is usually a signpost marking the way, but it was missing at time of writing. The Highlanders who took part in the battle are said to have met here to whet their dirks and claymores on this large whinstone block before the fight — not an unreasonable assumption. The stone is enclosed by an iron grating, with a brass plate attached, gifted by a Mr Stirling of Kippendavie in 1840. North of the battlefield is the Sheriffmuir Inn, which hosts commemorations of the battle.

There are some grand viewpoints in this vicinity, and short drives will give vistas over Strathallan and the valley of the Forth, the landscape of the Ochils

having an almost Highland quality that belies its proximity to the central belt.

The Earl of Mar is usually said in our history books to have commanded the forces of 'The Pretender' at Sheriffmuir. This shows how history is written by the winners, and details twisted to suit. James VIII was no 'pretender'. He was the legitimate heir to the thrones of Britain, but it was the Hanoverian George I who had become king due to political and religious manoeuvring.

The fact that he is often referred to by this title, as if he were some sort of imposter, shows how the propaganda machinery of the day operated.

*The restored Alloa Tower is open to the public from April to September. ●*



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**Illustrations:** Cover – Battle of Sheriffmuir: Stirling Smith Art Gallery. p4/5/6 The Salisbury: National Maritime Museum; Louis XIV: SNPG; Medals: NMS. p7/8/9/ George I at St James's Palace: National Portrait Gallery; The Edinburgh Traders by Roderick Chalmers: NMS; Model: NMS; Glasgow: Stirling Smith Art Gallery. p10/11/12/13 Houses of Parliament by Anthony Joli, photographed by John Voos © Independent; Earl of Mar and Lord Erskine by Sir Godfrey Kneller: NGS; Earl of Oxford by Sir Godfrey Kneller: NPG; George I Crown © PA. p14/15 Lockhart's Memoirs: National Library

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**FIRST PRESS  
PUBLISHING**

DAILY RECORD AND SUNDAY MAIL, MAGAZINE DIVISION

40 Anderston Quay, Glasgow G3 8DA

Tel: 0141 242 1400

Editor-in-Chief Iain King

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Circulation Manager Rita Nimmo

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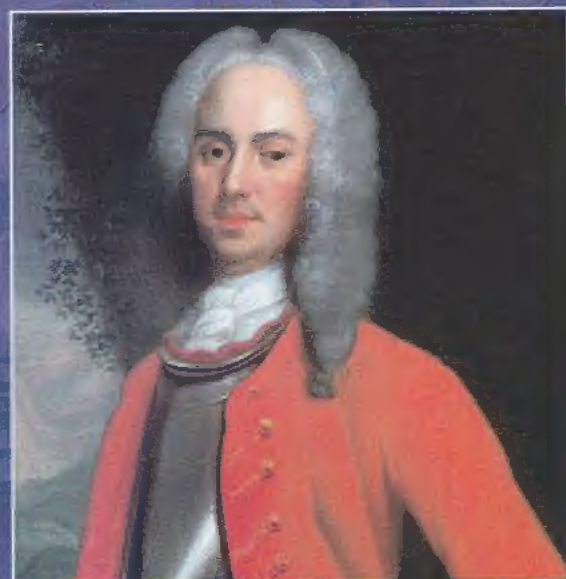
Scotland's Story is published in 52 weekly parts by First Press Publishing, the magazine and book publishing division of the Scottish Daily Record & Sunday Mail Limited. © 2000.

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# SCOTLAND'S STORY

## NEXT WEEK IN PART 32

## THE BRIDGE-BUILDER



As 'economic development' would also open the Highlands to influence and control over troublesome clans, the King sent the charming General Wade to disarm the natives – literally – before embarking on a huge programme of building roads and bridges, many of which are still used today. Read Wade's story in our next issue.

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ISSN 1468-537X



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